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AN ANSWER

TO

DR. REID'S ANIMADVERSIONS

UPON

THE LIFE

OF

ARCHBISHOP USSHER.

BY

CHARLES RICHARD ELRINGTON, D. D.,

REGIUS PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN.

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AN ANSWER,

&c. &c.

THE following remarks have been rendered necessary by the appearance of several letters in a Belfast newspaper, and their subsequent publication in a pamphlet with the following title: "Seven Letters to the Rev. C. R. Elrington, D. D., Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Dublin, occasioned by his Animadversions, in his Life of Ussher, on certain Passages in the History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. By James Seaton Reid, D. D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Glasgow." These letters have remained unanswered for several months, because Dr. Reid thought proper to mix up his remarks upon my Life of Archbishop Ussher with a dissertation upon my qualifications for filling the then vacant see of Down. Until the vacancy was filled up, I determined to remain silent, lest I might be supposed to be putting myself forward as a candidate for the bishopric, and endeavouring to remove the false impressions

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which his remarks were designed to make upon the Government of this country. I might appeal to Dr. Reid himself for no small measure of praise, as, in his first letter, he "bears testimony to the great service I have rendered to the religious history of Ireland, and not less to the reputation of my own Church, by my biography of the great and good Archbishop Ussher." But, while Dr. Reid thus praises the book, he attacks the writer as "a narrow-minded divine," as the cause "of perpetuating unhappy collisions and jealousies among Protestants, who would otherwise live in peace." Perhaps, if Dr. Reid had taken the trouble of inquiring what had been my conduct in the care of one of the largest and most important parishes in the north of Ireland, he would not have ventured to make such a charge. Perhaps he would have found that in no one instance, since my appointment to the rectory of Armagh, had any religious dissension been caused by me; and that, during all the difficulties of the last three years, there was not any part of Ireland in which more perfect harmony existed between the ministers of every denomination of Christians.

I abhor controversy. I never engaged in it except on the defensive. In writing the Life of Archbishop Ussher, I was obliged to disprove the statements made by certain Presbyterian writers, or to acknowledge that he was unworthy of the high station which he filled in the Church, and of the great reputation which he has enjoyed for two centuries. From those

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narratives it must be the necessary inference, that Archbishop Ussher approved and encouraged the irregularities which he had sworn to banish and drive away; that he had declared he observed the Act of Uniformity only so long as his conduct was observed; and that, as soon as he could conceal from the public eye his neglect, he was ready and willing to break the engagements which he had made to his Church; that he held totally different language when conversing with and advising the Presbyterian ministers, and when corresponding with the Government of the country. If the reports of the Presbyterian ministers, the striking parts of which were all brought before the public by Dr. Reid,—if these reports, I say, be true,—there never existed a more weak, time-serving prelate, a more dishonest man, than Archbishop Ussher. Under these circumstances it became my imperative duty, a duty from which I could not shrink, to examine these narratives, and to try whether the writers had not either mistaken or misrepresented the conduct of Archbishop Ussher.

The subject has been adroitly misrepresented by these writers, and has been stated as if it were merely a question whether a bishop should tolerate or not persons worshipping God according to the dictates of their conscience. The case of the Dissenters in the north of Ireland, with whom Archbishop Ussher had to deal, was totally different; and, lest I should be accused of misrepresentation, I shall describe the con-

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duct of their ministers in the words of Dr. Reid: "Though(*a*) like the English Puritans, in the early part of the reign of Elizabeth, they were comprehended within the pale of the Established episcopal Church, *enjoying its endowments and sharing its dignities*, yet, notwithstanding this singular position which they occupied, they introduced and maintained the several peculiarities, both of discipline and worship, by which the Scottish Church was distinguished." It surely requires no laboured argument to prove that a bishop, who suffered such proceedings, violated his solemn duty. The endowments and dignities were given on the implied condition that the persons who accepted them were willing to support the Church, to whose maintenance they were appropriated. To call interference in such a case persecution, is a perversion of language. I would ask Dr. Reid, if a parochial minister in Glasgow adopted the liturgy of the Church of England, how long would the Church authorities in Scotland allow him to hold his cure? and when they removed him, who would venture to censure their conduct?

The first subject of complaint against me is, that I misstated the title of Dr. Reid's work in order to show that I would not admit that the Presbyterian could be a Christian Church. I quoted it as the History of the Presbyterians, and not as the History of the Presbyterian Church. How my not giving the

(*a*) Reid's Hist., vol. i. p. 129.

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proper title could indicate my own opinion on the subject, baffles my comprehension. By quoting the title I could only put forward Dr. Reid's opinion, not my own. When I quoted Milton's "Reason of Church Government against Prelacy," it never occurred to me that I was sanctioning his condemnation of episcopacy by giving the title correctly. The moment I saw Dr. Reid's letter in the newspaper, I wrote to him, stating that the omission was a mere mistake, arising from my not having a copy of his work before me when I was correcting the press. Wishing to treat him very civilly, I did not comment upon the absurdity of the inference he had drawn, but sent him a copy of a sermon preached at the consecration of the Bishop of Cork, in which I condemned the very opinion which he attributed to me. Instead of sending a note to be appended to the next letter which was to appear in the newspaper, Dr. Reid put off for three weeks an acknowledgment of his mistake; and, to complete the whole, when he printed the letters in a pamphlet, he repeated the same charge, which had been proved unfounded. It has been one of the many stories recorded against George Faulkner, that, when he published Lord Littleton's History of Henry II., he reprinted several pages of errata which had been attached to the London edition. Whether Dr. Reid's was as innocent a blunder, or whether the reason he assigns be satisfactory, I shall not pronounce.

However, as he could not substantiate his charge

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of Tractarianism against me, from the refusal to give the title of his book, and as he knew what virtue was in a nickname, he refers to a sermon, preached by me eight years ago, which puts forwards, as he says, the worst of Tractarian doctrines. How this sermon was connected with the correction of his mistakes in history, I know not. To charge me with Tractarianism is as absurd as to charge me with Socinianism, or any other *ism* in the modern vocabulary. I believe some of the doctrines held by the Tractarians; so do I also some of the doctrines held by Dr. Reid. But will Dr. Reid support the old form of argument?—The doctrine of the Trinity is held by the Pope; but the Pope is Antichrist; therefore the doctrine of the Trinity is false. I believe that the Book of Common Prayer teaches the apostolical descent of episcopacy; I have declared my assent to it, and I trust I shall hold fast that form of sound doctrine to my life's end. While I hold episcopal government to be the true form of a church, I do not presume to say that all those who have rejected it are, therefore, excluded from Christ's Church. In these views I neither convict myself of being a Tractarian, nor of maintaining contradictory opinions. I should have thought that when I adopted the language of the Bishop of Llandaff, in saying, "No(*a*) man is more fully convinced than myself of the apostolical succession of bishops and presbyters in the Church of

(*a*) Bishop of Llandaff's Sermon at Usk, p. 30

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Christ, and that it is the duty of every member of that Church to conform to this rule, and to submit to their spiritual authority; yet I do not feel myself justified in saying that without a bishop there is no Church, that Presbyterian ordination is not valid," I was tolerably safe from being charged with Tractarian doctrines or inconsistent reasoning. Dr. Reid will scarcely venture to charge the Bishop of Llandaff with either. The same opinion I had brought forward in the words of another eminent prelate of our Church, Bishop Andrews, and published them in the very sermon, which Dr. Reid represents as putting forward "intolerant and truly fanatical sentiments." "Nevertheless, if our form (of episcopacy) be of divine right, it doth not follow from thence that there is no salvation without it. He is blind who does not see churches consisting without it; he is hard-hearted who denieth them salvation. We are none of those hard-hearted persons; we put a great difference between those things. There may be something absent in the exterior regiment, which is of divine right, and yet salvation to be had."

But I shall pursue this subject no farther. It is not my object in this pamphlet to defend my character, except as a faithful historian. Any person who reads Dr. Reid's attack will perceive at once that it was prompted by irritated feelings, and a wish to revenge, if possible, the censure I had thrown upon his History.

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Dr. Reid commences his animadversions upon my Life of Archbishop Ussher by selecting four passages, which he says I copied from his History without making any acknowledgment of the place from whence I borrowed them. The first of these is, that I quoted from Birch's Life of Prince Henry the account of James's sending over Hamilton and Fullerton to Ireland, a quotation which he had already made, without any acknowledgment of the source from whence I borrowed it. I did not refer to Dr. Reid's book, because I did not borrow from it. I was led to bring forward the passage in order to controvert the opinion of Dr. M'Crie, in his Life of Melville, who discredits the story, though he refers to this very statement. Dr. Reid himself was guided, no doubt, to the quotation, by this reference of Dr. M'Crie.

The next is, that I copied from him the synchronism of the opening of the school in Dublin by the two Scotchmen, and the enactment that Lilly's Grammar should be the only one taught in any school. I really cannot say what tempted me to make the remark, but I think it of so little importance that I would leave it out were I now writing the Life.

The third passage is, that Dr. Reid corrected the common statement that the Life of Gotteschalcus was the first Latin book printed in Dublin, which was put forward by Dr. Parr, and copied by all succeeding writers, by naming two works of Sir James

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Ware, printed(*a*) before that time. Now I did not copy Dr. Reid's remarks; I told him what he did not know when he wrote his History, that Dr. Parr was not the originator of the story, but Archbishop Ussher himself; and I was for too long a time Librarian in Dublin College not to have seen Sir James Ware's two works, and not to have frequently discussed the subject of the early printing in Dublin.

For the last Dr. Reid has reserved the most extraordinary charge of all. He says I borrowed from him the description of Bishop Downame's work, which was suppressed. Dr. Reid states in his History that the bishop wrote no work on the subject of perseverance; I stated that he did, and quoted the authority of Archbishop Ussher and Prynne; and now, in his letters, he is obliged to acknowledge that he was wrong. He does not, however, mention that I had given the right statement. I never mentioned Dr. Reid's mistake, or took any credit for correcting such a trivial error. But then I turned Dr. Reid's conjecture as to the book into a matter of positive belief, and never had the candour to acknowledge I had been anticipated in the conjecture. I never thought of Dr. Reid's conjecture; I read it, no doubt,

(*a*) Dr. Reid states that he has discovered a Latin work printed in Dublin in 1619. I suppose he alludes to the Pathologia, by Dermitius Meara, which certainly has Dubliniæ in the title-page, but was printed, I believe, in London. There is a copy of it in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, among Archbishop Ussher's books.

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but it made no impression upon me. I referred to rather better authority, and the quotation I gave as to the title of the book was from the last catalogue of the Bodleian Library ; and if Dr. Reid chooses to take the trouble, he will see that I copied it, and not his. Minute differences are of great consequence in such matters. Had I copied Dr. Reid, I should have fallen into the mistake that the book was in octavo, whereas it is in quarto.

Dr. Reid's next letter is occupied with maintaining his representation of Lord Falkland's conduct. I really cannot find any better defence for myself than is contained in that letter. Dr. Reid admits that "on various occasions his narrative has been unconsciously coloured by his religious or ecclesiastical convictions." But he adds: "You have gone out of your way to say something severe of me ; for there are certainly other passages in my narrative which might have been quoted as much more plausible proofs in support of your charge of sectarian partiality than the one you have produced." I am quite sure of that. I could have brought forward a long catalogue of bitter and intolerant remarks upon the Churches of England and Ireland ; but I was not writing a review of Dr. Reid's History. I strictly confined myself to the circumstances connected with the Life of Archbishop Ussher. Dr. Reid's object, as it appeared to me, was to show that, from the accession of Charles, the wishes of the Court were favourable to the Roman Catholics, while, at

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the same time, the Church of England was approximating every day more closely to the doctrines of Rome ; and thus to justify the conduct of those whom he describes as alone furthering the objects of the Reformation. With this view he describes Lord Falkland as rendered still more prompt to fulfil the wishes of the Court by the religious feelings of his wife. This statement I was obliged to contradict, because it involved the conduct of Archbishop Ussher, and I pointed out that the only instance of active interference on the part of Lord Falkland was in the contrary direction, and that Archbishop Ussher attended him to the water side, in order to show his respect, as his removal had been occasioned by his attempts to repress the Roman Catholics. In answer to my remarks upon his partiality, Dr. Reid is pleased to apply to me the old adage of persons living in glass-houses, and to assert that I am very far from being an unprejudiced biographer. I suppose he alludes to the charge which he afterwards makes, that I idolize Laud and Strafford. I am the panegyrist neither of the one nor of the other. I have brought forward details of their unjust and tyrannical conduct, which were not, I believe, generally known, and have expressed my condemnation of them in as strong terms as I thought they merited. But I have ventured to say, in their defence, that their conduct should be judged, not from our notions of law, but from the notions prevalent at the time ; and I have also ven-

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tured to remark that charges against them should be confined to facts,—that the misconduct of others was not to be visited upon them,—that false quotations were not to be made for the purpose of exciting odium against them,—and that, when a right action was performed by them, a bad motive ought not to be invented for the purpose of taking away any little credit they might deserve. All these things I have certainly said, and if that be considered making idols of them I plead guilty. My animadversions have not been confined to Dr. Reid, and I have censured Dr. Leland as severely at least. But there is one insinuation in the second letter that I cannot pass over. He says there are many appropriation clauses in my work from the pages of Leland. I should be ashamed if there were not. It was not my intention to invent a romance. My object was to read everything I could procure on the subject, and arrange, from the works already published, the best narrative I could. Whenever I could recollect the sources from which I derived information, I gave my authorities ; I cannot venture to say that I did so in every instance.

The third letter is devoted to answering my charge of misrepresentation as to the management of Trinity College. Dr. Reid acknowledges that I might have truly charged him with giving an incomplete statement, for he "omitted to state the part which Ussher took; and as he was not writing a history of the Archbishop or of the College, it was not necessary

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for him to bring forward all the flimsy pretexts of which Laud and Strafford availed themselves to justify their arbitrary innovations." This excuse is certainly *too flimsy* to impose upon any one acquainted with the subject. I repeat the charge of wilful misrepresentation. I repeat my contradiction of Dr. Reid's statement, that it was most probable the disorderliness complained of by Lord Strafford "consisted solely in the leaven of Puritanism." Archbishop Ussher entreated of Archbishop Laud to accept the Chancellorship of the University for the purpose of giving a new body of Statutes, because the Provost had no power to control the Fellows, who were factious and idle(*a*); and also recommended the appointment of a new Provost, "of more rigid temper and stouter disposition than Dr. Ussher." Now, when this was the true state of the case, I think I had sufficient cause for censuring a statement that the removal of the Provost, and the enactment of new Statutes, formed part of the plan arranged between Archbishop Laud and Lord Strafford for establishing Arminianism. Dr. Reid's defence is, that such was the ecclesiastical policy of Strafford, and that therefore his conduct towards the College must have been influenced by those views. This is no justification for misrepresenting a fact. The representation of Dr. Reid is, that there was no cause for removing the Provost or altering the Statutes except the Arminian views of

(*a*) See Letter 191, Works, vol. xv. p. 574.

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Archbishop Laud and Lord Strafford. The fact is that it was urged upon them by Archbishop Ussher before they could have come to any decision on the subject. Still further, I challenge Dr. Reid to produce one single change from the Statutes of Bishop Bedell, which could be construed by the most decided Calvinist into a measure for the establishment of Arminianism. The only changes of any consequence in the Statutes are the extending the duration of a fellowship from seven years to a tenure for life, and placing the appointment of the Provost in the Crown, with the addition of considerable powers to the office.

Dr. Reid says I very conveniently omitted to notice that Archbishop Abbot complained of the Statutes as sanctioning flat Puritanism. I was so far from omitting it, that I quoted the very passage to which Dr. Reid alludes(*a*). What the Archbishop is reported to have said was, "that the ordering of commonplacing was flat puritanical;" and be it remarked, that this "ordering" remains in the Statutes, as altered by Archbishop Laud, to the present day.

Dr. Reid next asks me will I venture to say that Archbishop Ussher approved the changes in the Statutes, or the successor appointed? This is an adroit attempt to shift the question. In my censure of Dr. Reid's statement I did not say one word of the new Provost, nor had Dr. Reid. The two things he

(*a*) Archbishop Ussher's Life, p. 37.

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mentioned were the removal of the Provost and the new Statutes. Of these, there can be no doubt, Archbishop Ussher fully approved. I repeat they were done as he recommended. The appointment of the new Provost has nothing to say to the question; and of Archbishop Ussher's objections to Dean Chappell, and of the subsequent contentions between the Archbishop and the Provost, I have given a fuller account than ever was given before.

Upon the conclusion of the third letter I shall offer no comment. In a cooler moment Dr. Reid will feel ashamed that he has written such an unfounded attack.

The fourth letter is occupied in answering some remarks I made about Archbishop Bramhall. Dr. Reid had said that Bramhall was "an enemy to the education of the people like his prototype and patron Laud." I answered that this was a mere gratuitous assertion, for the purpose of attacking Laud, and that Laud was not the patron of Bramhall. Dr. Reid says "he was his early and zealous patron, in the ordinary acceptation of the word." Now, I repeat my assertion that he was not. Laud had no knowledge of Bramhall except through Lord Strafford. I rather think he never saw him, till he went to London as Bishop of Derry.

Dr. Reid's first proof is from a letter of Laud, when Bishop of London, to Lord Strafford, in which he says: "What have you done about Dr. Bramhall for the prebend, for my Lord of Durham is actually

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translated out of it?" Dr. Reid asks, is not this the act of a vigilant and zealous patron? I answer most certainly not; it is a suggestion to the patron. If Laud had wished to obtain the prebend for his own friend, he should have applied at once; he did not want the support of Lord Strafford to succeed in his applications to the King for ecclesiastical preferments. The purport of the letter is obvious; he writes to Strafford, that the preferment about which he was anxious is vacant, and that now is his time to put in a claim for his friend.

Dr. Reid next supplies his readers with an instance of Dr. Bramhall's good fortune, from unpublished sources: "He was made Treasurer of Christ Church so early as August 30, 1633." If his unpublished sources do not give him more novel information, I recommend him not to make any references to them. If he will look into the Life of Bramhall in Harris's Ware, p. 293, he will find the appointment mentioned.

Dr. Reid's next argument is from the proceedings of Archbishop Laud about the appointment of Bramhall to the see of Derry. Here I am so perverse, that I draw exactly the opposite conclusion from the same premises. Dr. Reid's argument is: Archbishop Laud had made a rule, fixing the age under which a man could not be appointed a bishop; but on the bishopric of Derry falling vacant before Dr. Bramhall had attained the required age, he persuaded the King to relax the rule, and therefore must have been

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the patron of Bramhall. Now, even in the passage Dr. Reid has quoted, the commencing words, "Now to your great business," would sufficiently prove that the promotion was one which interested Lord Strafford, rather than himself. But I must continue the quotation a little longer than Dr. Reid has done: "His Majesty, after some arguing of the business, and with *great testimony of your Lordship's good service to himself and the Church*, granted him the bishopric. This I have readily done *to serve you*, with some departure from my own judgment in matter of age." I would ask, is it within the limits of possibility that Archbishop Laud could have written those words, had he been serving his own friend.

But though this matter is so clear, I cannot let the subject rest without some further remark. Dr. Reid says "that Laud had laid down a rule with the King, to recommend no man for a bishopric under a certain age, probably forty-five." If Dr. Reid had, instead of guessing, read Archbishop Laud's letter(*a*), he would have known that the age fixed was forty. The process of argument pursued by Dr. Reid was, no doubt, this:—Dr. Bramhall was too young; but the common narratives of his life say he was born about the year 1593; therefore, in 1634 he must have been upwards of forty; and, therefore, the age fixed by Archbishop Laud must have been forty-five. Now the proper course for

(*a*) See Strafford's Letters, vol. i. p. 124.

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an historian would have been to have taken the fact, which he could have ascertained, what had been the age fixed by Archbishop Laud, and then have thrown doubts upon the date fixed by Bishop Vesey and others for the birth of Bramhall. Indeed they do not speak positively, for they say he was born *about the year* 1593. However, the actual date has been ascertained. It appears from the parish registry of Pontefract, that "John, the son of Peter Bramhall, was baptized the 18th day of November, 1594." In May, 1634, he wanted six months of being forty years of age; and Archbishop Laud correctly spoke of him as "being a little too young." I shall not make any allusion to the terms in which Dr. Reid has spoken of me in triumphing over my supposed mistake. I prefer giving an example of his style in his comments upon Bishop Mant's narrative. "Dr. Mant, in his usual blundering way, supposed that the age fixed upon by Laud and Charles was forty; and he goes into a calculation of Bramhall's age at his promotion, which leads to the conclusion 'that he must have been hard upon, if not rather more than forty years of age; beyond the limit, therefore, which the Archbishop had defined for the episcopal qualification'(*a*). What a perspicuous and clear-headed historian! He considered the defect consisted in Bramhall's *being a little too old*, in the face of Laud's express statement,

(*a*) Hist. vol. i. p. 473.

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quoted by himself in full only a few lines before, that he had to press the King to dispense with the Doctor's *being a little too young.* From which even a school-boy, much less a Fellow of Oriel, and a bishop, might have gathered that the approved episcopal age must have been above forty, as Bramhall had already reached that age, but was still a little too young."

In his narrative Bishop Mant was right where Dr. Reid was wrong, namely, in the episcopal age, as fixed by Archbishop Laud; and Dr. Reid shares with him in the mistake as to the age of Dr. Bramhall. So much for the school-boy's inference.

I must notice the cause of this discussion. I said Dr. Reid's assertion that Bramhall imitated Laud, was a gratuitous attack upon Laud. Why was Laud's name introduced? Might not Bramhall answer for his own conduct? Dr. Reid's answer is: "He constantly acted on the policy of his party, which, throughout that century, and even later, was to extend to the population at large just as slender a portion of religious instruction as could be doled out to them. All the facilities for that purpose which the Puritan clergy of the Established Church afforded to the people, by lecturing, catechising, publishing religious works, and the like, were systematically discouraged, and, in many cases, rigidly prohibited by him, or with his sanction." So, because Archbishop Laud, and the clergy of the Church, opposed the instruction afforded in Presbyterian Catechisms, or

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Presbyterian works on religion, they were enemies to religious instruction. This is really too much. Was not religious instruction, in Catechisms and other forms, provided by the Church and enjoined by the Canons ?—But such a statement requires no lengthened refutation.

That Bishop Bramhall was opposed to the instruction of the people is undoubtedly not true. That he might have been opposed to any attempt to increase the knowledge of the Irish language is possible ; but I can find no evidence one way or the other. Still further, the eighty-sixth Canon was injurious to the proper dissemination of the Irish language. It was, as I have stated in the Life of Archbishop Ussher, a mean compromise in the members of the Upper House of Convocation, between their anxiety to promote in the Church persons ignorant of the Irish language, and their sense of the inconsistency of such conduct with their condemnation of prayers in an unknown tongue. I am far from giving a positive opinion as to the differences between Archbishop Ussher and Bishop Bedell about the Irish language. That Archbishop Ussher approved of the candidates for orders learning Irish, and of the Bible being translated into Irish, there can be no doubt ; but it is equally certain that the censure of Archbishop Ussher, so often referred to, related to the teaching the people Irish. Bishop Bedell's defence is, that he did nothing more than what he had done when Provost. Of the subjects of complaint

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against him, the only one which could refer to his conduct as Provost was teaching the Irish language. The eighty-sixth Canon, I also observed, contradicts the Book of Common Prayer; therefore, it is very possible Bishop Bramhall opposed it, and, I hope, so did Archbishop Ussher and Bishop Bedell; but that there was the opposition as stated between the two parties there is no evidence. As to Bishop Dopping's letter, he was not born when the Canons passed; we may, therefore, have better evidence upon historical documents than he had; and I think I demonstrated that Bishop Vesey, almost a contemporary, and deriving his information from a member of the Convocation, gave a wrong account of the introduction of the first Canon, the most important of all. Bishop Dopping here is undoubtedly mistaken in speaking of the eighty-sixth Canon, as a Canon for the better education of the people. It was a Canon neutralizing the effect of the eighth, which seemed to require an Irish-speaking minister for an Irish-speaking congregation, and substituting an Irish-speaking parish clerk.

The fifth letter commences with admitting the mistake I had pointed out in Dr. Reid's statement of the effect produced by the publication of the Canons. Dr. Reid had described the alarm as existing among the Presbyterians, whereas it really was among the Roman Catholics. However, though forced to admit this glaring mistake, he adds, it was of no consequence. It was of consequence, because Dr. Reid

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had brought it forward to prove the prevalence of Nonconformity. I said that, to heighten the effect, he had called Radcliff Master-General of the Ordnance, instead of Private Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant. The answer to this is, he gave him his highest title. This is true, but the effect of the sentence would have been lost had he called him Secretary. It might be considered proof of the greatness of the clamour if it reached the Master-General of the Ordnance; but it would be no proof its reaching the ears of the Private Secretary, who would be the first to hear it.

Dr. Reid then proceeds to justify what he had said about the Irish Articles, and seems to think it quite sufficient that he has Heylin, Collier, and Neal, on his side. I was fully aware whence he took his remarks; I mentioned it more than once in the Life of Ussher. I entirely acquit Dr. Reid of ever having studied the Articles. He has not brought forward one new objection. But I do not admit the authority of these three writers. Neal joined Heylin and Collier in an attempt to prove the Articles Puritanical in every point, but from different motives; Neal from a wish to support his cause by the authority of Ussher; the others, from anxiety to depreciate the character of the Archbishop. I did not defend the Articles. Independently of their ultra-Calvinism, I represented them as discussing questions which never should have been introduced into the standards of a Church, and determining absolutely

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opinions which ought to have been left open. But I did endeavour to show that they were not as much opposed to the English Articles as was represented; and first, as to the question whether the validity of ordination by presbyters is clearly implied. I stated that I could not find any words that can be so interpreted, and I repeat it. The Irish Articles say nothing of ordination, either by bishops or presbyters; the natural inference is that the framers thought it unnecessary, the question having been determined by the Liturgy. There certainly, from the Articles alone, could be derived a much more plausible argument that ordination was not necessary, than that ordination by presbyters was valid. But, says Dr. Reid, the omission of the thirty-sixth English Article is proof decisive; to make out his argument he introduces a word which is not in the Article, "as if to point out distinctly who were alone rightly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordered." Now, the word "alone" changes the whole meaning of the Article. It has always been my belief, that the compilers of the Articles, though holding a decided opinion as to what was the proper form of ordination, cautiously refrained from any expression which would pass sentence upon those who adopted a different form; and such is the argument brought forward by me in the sermon which Dr. Reid quotes, and more fully in the notes. The thirty-sixth Article appears to have been directed against the objections of the Roman Catholics to the form of consecration, as

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framed in the reign of King Edward ; and the latter clause, quoted by Dr. Reid, refers directly to the objections of Bishop Bonner.

As to absolution, I merely said the condemnation seems to be confined to the Popish doctrine of absolution, and the words of the prayer in the morning and evening service are copied exactly. This was sufficient proof that there was no discrepancy between the Irish Articles and the doctrine taught by the English Church in her Liturgy, for absolution is not mentioned in the Articles. Upon this Dr. Reid says: "Your interpretation savours somewhat of Tract XC. You consider it condemns merely the Popish doctrine of absolution, but not the Tractarian or Catholic doctrine, as propounded by Dr. Heylin, and that it does *not* assert the forgiveness of sins to be only declaratory, merely because it uses the language of the prayer in the Morning and Evening Service, which, taken by itself, has never been interpreted as favouring that obnoxious dogma." Words have been often tortured by a commentary, but few more striking examples could be given than the above. Because I said the Article adheres to the very words of the Liturgy, therefore I must mean that it propounds the doctrine of absolution as explained by Dr. Heylin. Dr. Reid's fears for "the doctrine taught by the only Regius Professor of Divinity connected with the Irish Church," are rather amusing. He is so much interested in the welfare of our Church, that it will be consolatory for him to be informed that I employed

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part of last Term in refuting the views of absolution, as put forward by Mr. Maskell, to which he alludes.

3. Dr. Reid said, "Lent is disclaimed as a religious fast;" to which I answered, "I cannot find the word in the Articles." The answer of Dr. Reid I have read more than once, doubting my senses whether he could have written such nonsense: "Not a doubt of it; but the thing signified is there, for it is declared in the fiftieth Article, 'As for those abstinences which are appointed by public order of the State, for eating of fish and forbearing of flesh at certain times [Lent for instance] and days appointed, they are no ways meant to be religious fasts, nor intended for the maintenance of any superstition in the choice of meats, but are grounded merely on politic considerations, for provision of things tending to the better preservation of the commonwealth.' Perhaps I was not guarded enough when I used only the term Lent to denote the seasons during which particular abstinences are disclaimed as religious fasts; for I confess I am not well versed in the use of these ritual terms." I must first ask what right had Dr. Reid to insert, in the middle of a quotation from the Irish Articles, the words "Lent for instance;" even though they were in brackets. But still further, I did not suppose it possible that any Presbyterian was so ignorant as not to know the difference between a religious fast, and abstinence from particular meats, "eating of fish and forbearing of flesh." The Article is merely a repetition of the Act of Parliament,

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explaining the reasons why fish was ordered to be used on certain days, and has no relation whatever to a religious fast. Dr. Reid acknowledges that he had been following Neal, or Heylin, or Collier. I have no doubt of it; but he ought merely to have acknowledged the cause of his mistake, and not attempted a defence. The defence is worse than the original assertion.

4. Again, Dr. Reid is led by the same guides into the mistake of saying that in the Irish Articles no authority is claimed for framing or enforcing ecclesiastical Canons, or decreeing rites and ceremonies. I answered this by referring him to the seventy-seventh Article. He prefaces his defence by stating "that the English version (of the Articles) is now accepted as the authorized copy, in preference to the Latin." I should be glad to know where he found that rule; I have been in the habit of thinking that both the Latin and English Articles were sanctioned by equal authority. He then proceeds to the twentieth Article, as it now stands in the English: "The Church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies is omitted in the Irish Articles, which is sufficient proof that they did not go as far as the English." Now, in this remarkable passage, Dr. Reid has gone out of his way to exhibit his ignorance of the history of the Articles. The clause "The Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith," is generally believed not to have been in the first authorized English edition of the

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Articles, and was not generally considered, at the time of the formation of the Irish Articles, as part of the twentieth Article. The Irish Articles give almost *verbatim* the two English Articles about the Church, as they appeared in many editions of the Articles at the time. Dr. Reid indeed says that the seventy-seventh Irish Article is stated in a less dogmatic form than the thirty-fourth; how this appears I cannot discover, but as, perhaps, the reader may, I shall give the two passages. The English Article is: "Every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying." The Irish: "Every particular Church hath authority to institute, to change, and clean to put away ceremonies and other ecclesiastical rites, as they be superfluous or be abused; and to constitute other, making more to seemliness, to order, or edification."

Again, Dr. Reid props up his opinion by the authority of Neal, "who likewise considers that, for the same reason,—the want of the twentieth English Article, no power is ascribed to the Church in making Canons by the Irish Articles." I must repeat that the twentieth Article is in the Irish Articles, that is, in the form in which it was generally received in 1615, without the first clause.

Dr. Reid cannot understand how I could admit that the Articles were formed with a desire to conciliate the Non-conformists, unless his view be correct

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on these four points; that is, he cannot see how they could have been formed to conciliate, unless every point necessary to maintain an agreement with the Church of England was given up. If he cannot, it is not in my power to supply the deficiency.

There remains nothing more for me to answer except his animadversions upon my exposure of the mistakes in Mr. Blair's narrative. Now, my opinion of Mr. Blair is not very different from Dr. Reid's, who describes him "as a warm partisan, tinged with all the prejudices as well as with some of the superstitious feelings of that excited and tumultuous period in which he lived. Where these prejudices were roused, his judgment was unquestionably often misled, and his opinions on all points cannot be vindicated." Dr. Reid takes offence at my having stated that a story which Mr. Blair related was not to be credited. The story is this, that he refused to dine with Archbishop Ussher because he used the Liturgy; and that the Archbishop *excused* himself for doing so in consequence of the great confluence, and invited him to Drogheda, where, of course, we are to understand a Liturgy was not to be used. Now, I do say this is incredible. No man holding the office of a bishop could offer an excuse for using the Liturgy, for doing his bounden duty. I gave the authority of Dr. Bernard, as I thought it least likely to be controverted, that the Archbishop always had the full Morning and Evening Service read before dinner and supper. Dr. Reid doubts the Puritan chaplain, be-

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cause the book was published after the Restoration. But the same fact is stated in a book published by Dr. Bernard while he was chaplain to Cromwell, and is also distinctly asserted by Dr. Parr.

But, says Dr. Reid, "Bernard states that he (Ussher) was not so rigid as to tie all men in private to an absolute necessary use of the Liturgy." He certainly does, but he as certainly states that the relaxation was only at six o'clock in the morning and at eight in the evening; but that before dinner and supper the Liturgy was always used in the chapel. It was, as we have seen, to the form of prayer before dinner Blair objected, and stated that an *excuse* was made of the confluence. Against Ussher's having made such an excuse there is in evidence the utter improbability of the fact, and the testimony of Dr. Bernard(*a*) and Dr. Parr, that the excuse could not have been true; the evidence for

(*a*) I have no anxiety to defend Dr. Bernard, but Dr. Reid makes an attack upon him for inconsistency, which is not deserved. He states that in a work published before the Restoration, Bernard said, "He was for the ministers improving of their gifts and abilities in prayer before sermon and after, *according to his own practice;*" and that in the *Clavi Trabales*, published subsequently, he modifies his statement: "Though he had as great ability as the chief pretenders to an extemporary expression, yet he constantly *used a set form of prayer before his sermon.*" Now, a passage in Dr. Parr's Life will explain this seeming discrepancy. "He did so much approve of set forms of prayer in public, that he always kept himself to one constant short pathetical prayer before his sermons, *with little alteration.*"

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the story is the narrative of Mr. Blair. According to the ordinary rules of evidence, I believe my conclusion was not unreasonable.

The second charge is, that I stated the improbability that Archbishop Ussher would countenance what was too flagrant a breach of discipline for Bishop Echlin to pass over. Dr. Reid says the ministers were suspended, not for breach of discipline, but for false doctrine, and calls upon me for evidence. External evidence I have none, nor is it required to show the improbability of a story. I cannot but think I was right in stating that the ministers were suspended for a breach of discipline ; and certainly Dr. Reid was of that opinion when he wrote his History; for he says: "Maxwell, of Edinburgh, and Mr. James Law, bishop of Glasgow, informed Dean Leslie of what they would doubtless style the uncanonical and schismatic conduct of the Irish ministers in their neighbourhood." Dr. Reid wishes to put me on the horns of a dilemma: "It must either be true that when under censure he applied to Ussher, that Ussher interfered with Echlin, and that he was in consequence restored to his office ; or the whole is a barefaced tissue of wilful falsehoods. You do not hesitate to adopt the latter alternative." I am not to be so caught. I simply stated, "that it was incredible Archbishop Ussher should countenance what was too flagrant a breach of discipline for Bishop Echlin to pass over." I did not enter into the particulars of the story, of which I knew nothing.

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I wish edsimply to counteract the inference that was drawn, of Archbishop Ussher supporting dissent. If Archbishop Ussher interfered, it might have been in consequence of some informality in the proceedings, not from approbation of their conduct; and if Dr. Reid's new version be correct, that the conviction was for a point of doctrine, my observation does not apply. I know nothing of Bishop Echlin's religious opinions. I repeat, I merely expressed my opinion, that in whatever part of the story the mistake might be, the conclusion was incredible that Ussher would sanction a breach of discipline too violent for Bishop Echlin to bear, who had gone so far as to change the form of ordination in order to suit the scruples of the new incumbents from Scotland.

Dr. Reid accuses me of making a blunder of my own a ground for imputing to another not a mere casual mistake, but a deliberate falsehood. My blunder was stating that March 1, 1632, old style, preceded May, 1632. Now, I made no such blunder(*a*). Mr. Blair states, that, on being silenced by Bishop Echlin in May, 1632, he and his colleague applied to Ussher, and he told them he could not interpose, because the two Lords Justices had an order from the King respecting them. I stated that this could not

(*a*) It is curious that in this very place Dr. Reid makes the blunder of which he wishes to convict me. He says that Lord Strafford was appointed Lord Deputy in January, 1632. It was in January, 1631.

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have been true, because, in a letter of Archbishop Laud to Lord Strafford, it appears that Archbishop Ussher had applied for powers to maintain the jurisdiction of the Church, and that the King desired him to be assured that he would support it against both recusants and all other factionists whatever. There being no dates for the application to Archbishop Ussher, or for the order to the Lords Justices, I mentioned as probable that the orders alluded to were suggested by this letter to Archbishop Laud. All that appeared was, that the application must have taken place between May, 1632, and the arrival of Lord Strafford in July, 1633 ; and therefore it was not improbable that the letter of March might have preceded it. I said nothing of the letter being the cause of the Lords Justices or Archbishop Ussher acting in May, because I did not know and do not know that they did act in May. It was the Bishop who passed sentence in May. My argument does not depend upon the date of the letter. It is, that Archbishop Ussher wrote a letter which would make his saying that he was prevented by the orders of the King from interfering, a deliberate falsehood, for his own opinion was against the ministers. As the writing such a letter was a very remarkable circumstance, and must have been called for by some extraordinary event, I endeavoured to conjecture on what occasion it could have been written, and suggested that it might have been addressed to Archbishop Laud while the appeal was pending ; but it was a mere conjecture,

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not affecting the argument. But if it comes out, as I can now show, that it really was written after the order, it strengthens my argument prodigiously, for it proves that the Archbishop did not think even those orders sufficient.

I have been led by Dr. Reid's animadversions to trace out the whole history. I have read more than once Blair's narrative, I must say with great difficulty, for it is peculiarly offensive to meet with details, given as matters of fact, that, in answer to his prayers, a disease in his kidneys was immediately removed, so as to enable him to proceed on his journey; that, when arrived in Greenwich Park, he again poured forth prayers, and had sensible tokens that his prayers were heard, and his request granted, about presenting a petition to the King; and that, by a special interference of Providence, he was able to present the petition to the King, when at a distance from the Bishops !!! If this does not justify my charge of arrogance, I am ready to withdraw the accusation. Dr. Reid says I have offended all the Presbyterians in the North of Ireland by doubting the correctness of Blair's narrative. I am sure there is not a sober-minded Presbyterian of the present day who would not join me in expressing dissatisfaction at such enthusiastic fanaticism as is to be found in Blair's narrative; and who will not, however he may respect the religious feeling and undaunted courage which made him struggle through difficulties, doubt his fitness for giving a sober and

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correct narrative, and admit the conclusion that he often imagined other people viewed every event in the same light he did.

But for the narrative. Blair says that Lord Strafford did not go to Ireland for near a twelvemonth after the petition was presented to the King. We thus get a date, and we may place the presentation of the petition in August, 1632, and the application to the Archbishop must have preceded it; therefore the letter of March 1 was not written to procure the order for the Justices. What, then, was its object? Blair tells us that, in great hopes of the effect the King's letter would produce upon Lord Strafford, he returned to Ireland, and "went on teaching the people." He remarks, "that though this letter did not take off the sentence of deposition, yet, by putting the matter to a new trial, it did weaken the same."

It must then have been during this revival of opposition to episcopal authority that Archbishop Ussher addressed the letter to Archbishop Laud, urging the importance of having the jurisdiction of the Church maintained; and we can easily understand to what the passage alludes, "to stop all such murmurs as may dishearten the bishops in God's service and his." Blair states, as I have said, that he came over in great hopes that, the moment Lord Strafford arrived, the sentence of deprivation would be reversed; and, no doubt, he took care to let this opinion be known. We can very well imagine what effect such a report would have upon the weak and vacillating mind of

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Bishop Echlin, not to mention others, and thus we account for Archbishop Ussher's letter. This renders it still more impossible to believe that Archbishop Ussher favored these irregularities. Dr. Reid, indeed, states that I have contradicted what Blair did not assert. So far from stating that Ussher supported the Puritan ministers, Blair alleges that he declined to interfere in their behalf. I cannot admit such special pleading. Blair asserts that Ussher declined interfering, because the Lords Justices had received orders from the King concerning them. With an honest man the meaning is, that Ussher thought the ministers right, would have interfered if he could, but was prevented by the known will of the King. If Ussher acted differently, I seek not to defend him,

> Ἐχθρὸς γάρ μοι κεῖνος, ὁμῶς ἀΐδαο πύλῃσιν,
> Ὅς χ' ἕτερον μὲν κεύθῃ ἐνὶ φρεσὶν, ἄλλο δὲ εἴπῃ.

I have now gone through all the passages commented upon by Dr. Reid. Whether or not he has raised his character by the comments, I shall leave to be decided by others. I have, I trust, fully justified every statement I made.

THE END.

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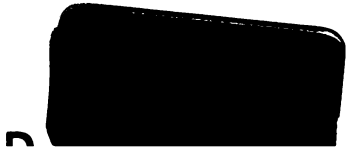

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